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**CHARITIES**

# *A Campaign for Childhood.*

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*Judge Juvenile Court, Denver.*

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# Some Experiences in the Juvenile Court of Denver<sup>1</sup>

THE COLORADO JUVENILE LAW

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Judge Juvenile Court, Denver

If that new method of dealing with juvenile offenders, generally known as the juvenile court and probation system, produces better results than the old method of attempting to correct children through the criminal courts, it is a success. This is the test rather than how many boys or girls it succeeds in correcting.

It will not do to claim too much for the juvenile court. It is not necessary. All that is necessary for its justification is that it is an improvement over the old methods. No one can successfully deny this. What is of more importance than the law is the personal and intelligent work of those who are called upon to administer it. I realized when I took active work in this line three years ago that a great deal depended upon the judge of the court. I felt somewhat startled at my responsibility when I received a letter from Jacob A. Riis, in which, referring to the juvenile laws, he said:

"I said it before and I repeat it, the whole life of this most far-reaching reform hangs upon the faithful execution of the probation law by the judges. They are the keepers of the people's conscience in this matter and have it in their power to smother or put to sleep. Thank God for the judges who try to keep it awake."

Especially in the very large cities, the important part of such work must fall to probation officers. The best results, however, under the new system, will depend largely upon the personal, active, earnest work of those who are called upon to administer the law. St. Paul, in arming the Christian soldier, is said to have placed sincerity and enthusiasm above all things. Yet I believe it will be conceded, when properly understood, that the juvenile law is justifiable and preferable to the methods of the criminal court in dealing with children

even if it is administered with a lack of enthusiasm or that personal element referred to. The purpose of such law is to protect children from being stigmatized with conviction as criminals, and in letter and spirit is a constant encouragement to personal work and effort. We would be handicapped without the law. It permits many things to be done, where there is a disposition to do, which could not be done under the old law. I do not in my own experience know of one imaginable abuse which might be predicted under the juvenile law that could not likewise be predicted with more reason under the criminal laws. Power under any law may be abused. Mistakes, under any law, may be made. Yet the reasons for a different treatment of juvenile offenders from that provided for adults have been made so clear and conclusive, that the special or different methods now being provided in many of the states for the care of children are more than justifiable. Constitutional inhibitions in some cases may possibly check the progress of this reform so far as laws are concerned, but they cannot possibly in the end stay its forward march. Where a child is regarded as equally responsible a being at seven or ten concerning its moral welfare as a man of fifty, and it is held it must be dealt with as a criminal, and not as a ward of the state under the chancery power of *parens patriae*, the movement may possibly be checked.

The law in Denver has cut very little figure. We had practically no law up to March, 1903. For more than two years we brought children to our court charged with needing correction. We brought them there with the same consideration and for the same reasons that we would bring a child abandoned on the street because of neglect. We could see no difference between the boy of twelve who was

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abandoned in the streets through no fault of his own, and the boy of the same age who because of environment, lack of care or the fault of others, thoughtlessness, misdirected energy, or even meanness, had become technically a thief. In truth he was not a thief at all. The state and others by bungling in handling him might make him one. If he could not make a contract until twenty-one with a fellow citizen, we thought it was no more than fair in his dealings with the state that he should not be held to the same contract with the state to obey its laws or suffer the same treatment and penalties as the man or woman past twenty-one. I once sent a boy to the Industrial School on the charge of needing correction for his own good. He was one of the exceptions whom we could not correct at home. Counsel employed by his parents declared he was dealt with without due process of law, no jury trial, etc., etc. He said he would apply for a writ of *habeas corpus*. I assured him I had no objection, but that the boy had been guilty of two or three offenses constituting technical burglary. I likewise assured him that he might be released for the purpose of obtaining due process of law, but this process would very promptly make of him a burglar and a thief, and as such, return him to the place from whence he might be brought upon the *habeas corpus* writ. The case was never brought. That was the first and last question ever raised in my experience with over a thousand children thus dealt with, with no other law than that indicated. There are some people who may always be relied upon to attack a good thing. Sometimes it is hard to understand.

*The Age Limit.* There is just as much excuse for drawing the age limit in dealing with children as juvenile offenders at sixteen, as there is for fixing the period of majority at twenty-one. Of course a distinction must be drawn somewhere. The exceptional cases that ought to come or ought not to come within it, are properly compelled to give way to the great majority of cases which the rule affects. In many states, the period of responsibility for crime is fixed at the age of seven; in Colorado at the age of ten. There is no more justification in the

argument against the juvenile law, that it discriminates because a boy above sixteen does not come within its terms, than there is against laws fixing periods of responsibility for crime or the making of contracts. Females in Colorado become of age at eighteen; males at twenty-one. For a quarter of a century in Colorado, adults under thirty could be sent to one prison maintaining a curriculum of less severity than that to which those over thirty were committed. In this and other states similar laws exist, and for years we have here and elsewhere had the law requiring that persons under sixteen, convicted of crime, be sent to an industrial school held by the courts not to be a penal institution, while an exactly similar offender, barely exceeding sixteen, must be sent to an institution declared by the courts to be penal. If, therefore, there be discrimination, it is a just and legal discrimination operating for the general welfare of all, sanctioned and sustained by custom, law, common sense and experience.

Whatever subtleties, distinctions, or questions there may be involved in the law—or the law itself—are of small consequence compared to the real secret of obtaining the best results in dealing with erring childhood. And while it would be hard to understand how any court could uproot the juvenile law, in Colorado for instance, or how any one could oppose it, the method it has already inspired in dealing with children offenders can never be changed. It is here to stay. It is rather to some of the details of this method than the law itself to which I shall refer.

Recently, in a certain neighborhood in Denver, where I spent a part of my boyhood, I talked to a large assembly of boys, ranging in ages from nine to fourteen years. I joked with them. I used enough of their own slang to let them know I was not above them. I told them enough of my own boyhood experiences and that of some boys I know, to make them certain I was a sympathizer with their joys and troubles. They knew that I understood them. They knew that I had come to their world, as it were, and did not expect them to either understand or come to mine. Just as soon as I felt



certain these little fellows knew that I had not forgotten when I was a boy myself, and without any artifice or encouragement, I suddenly asked, "Say, kids, how many of you fellows ever swiped things? Now everybody who has, hold up his hand." As quick as a wink every little hand went in the air. Now these boys knew I was judge of the juvenile court. They knew I could bring every mother's son of them before me, subject to the pains and penalties, and that awful fate to every boy—"Golden" (the Colorado State Industrial School for Boys). They knew that the time was only recent when boys in Denver had been in jail for swiping peanuts from the vender on the corner or fruit from the groceryman on the alley. Then why were they so frank? Because they were not afraid; because they were understood and they knew it. If the average policeman had asked that question, would not every boy have lied? Yet would a single one of those boys have been either a liar or a thief? I say, "No." If I had asked that question without "establishing communication" would they have answered as they did? Suppose I had asked "How many thieves are there among you fellows?" Wouldn't every boy have "looked wise?" I have talked with hundreds of boys in my private chambers, around my table as one boy would talk to another, on an equal footing, and their confidence and frankness has been as refreshing as it has been enlightening. I once declared in a public address, as a result of these confidences, that all the boys from the public schools of Denver to whom I had addressed the query, declared to me that in their opinion one-half of the boys in school would "swipe things." Some boys said nearly all, most of them said two-thirds, practically all said one-half. Some one misinterpreted this statement to the effect that half of the boys in the schools of Denver were thieves. That is not true. I say this whether the opinion of these boys frankly expressed, is true or not. As to the fact, I only know what I am told. I have much reason to believe it. An important point is—if it be a fact in Denver, it is no less a fact in every other city of this country. Denver boys are the best on earth. I have never seen a half dozen criminals among them in

over a thousand who made mistakes or got into trouble. It is the conclusion from such fact, with which I take issue. A boy that "swipes things" is not a thief. In some cases it may be well to let the boys think so; in others I would not. Technically, without the Juvenile Court act, the law might compel such a result. But truth is truth and the law cannot make it any different. An intelligent understanding from the boys' standpoint will, I think, convince any unbiased mind that such children are not thieves, yet all must admit that it is such habits persisted in that make thieves, burglars, frauds and other criminals. They are persisted in in entirely too many cases, though I believe the majority of such cases are of an isolated or infrequent nature, and are checked by proper home training and other good influence, as they should be, before the intervention of the court becomes necessary.

*How the Case  
Against the  
Child Must be  
Judged.*

Every case against a child must be judged more from the standard of the child than from that of the man. It must be judged more from the laws and rules that control child life than from those that should control the lives of adults. In the juvenile court, these two worlds meet as it were, harmony prevails and the case is viewed with due regard to each. No one can seriously expect a street boy of twelve to respect the law intended for the protection of the fruit vender in the same way that we have a right to expect the adult to respect a law of no higher sanctity or binding effect for the protection of the banker or the merchant in the possession of his money or property. Yet not technically, but positively, the law has to a large extent exactly the same rule. You might as well same penalties for a lack thereof. The jarring and jangling we all admit as a result of such a condition in the case of the child, is simply because we attempt to judge entirely different conditions by exactly the same rule. You might as well expect to successfully treat every disease by the same remedy. You might as well expect to cure a child, even though afflicted with the same illness as an adult, with the same doses, the same diet, and the same general treatment. And yet a child's

moral welfare, considering its relation to the state and to society, and the far-reaching influence of waywardness and criminality upon others, the burden, suffering, and misery that flow therefrom and afflict the whole body politic, is of infinitely more importance than any physical ailment and demands even more skill, patience, and intelligence. We must all admit that this is true. Yet have we, at least in the past, handled the problem from this viewpoint? Would we permit any ignoramus to handle a sick child? Were we ever generally addicted to such a mistake, it could not be much worse than the mistake we have made for hundreds of years in doing just this thing in the attempted cure and correction of children offenders.

I am perfectly aware that children under sixteen are capable of committing, and in the large cities are constantly committing, shocking and surprising offenses, often showing a cunning and an intelligence that would match that of the adept adult criminal. I have handled a number of such cases and spent many hours in their study. I believe in every such case there is a cause for the effect, a reason for the result, that is not far to trace in the majority of instances. This is, of course, no argument against what I term the juvenile court and probation system of dealing with such cases; no more so than that there are precocious children in most every accomplishment. No doubt some boys under twenty-one are more capable in business dealings than some persons past majority. Yet did any one ever consider that as a reason why we should abolish the line (or some line), where infancy ends and responsibility begins?

Not only must the general rule in dealing with children offenders be different from that in dealing with adults, but to achieve the most success, we must carry the proposition further for the same general reasons and deal with every case rather from the standpoint of that particular case than from any law. Of course the law and some general rules must be taken into consideration, and to a certain extent are applicable to every case. But they are, in my opinion, rather of secondary importance. For instance,

in every case a good deal depends upon environment, home, school, school-teacher, companions, and, what is very important, the particular type of boy. I know that inherently boys are very much the same. I refer to boys because I believe they outnumber the girls as juvenile offenders ten to one; but generally what is said of boys will apply to girls, although there are some important points of difference that only a special paper could well discuss. Boys subjected to the same influence, the same environment, and the same conditions of life, are likely to be the same in temperament, disposition and morals, although we must admit exceptions; but I believe generally it would be found that there is a change in these influences upon life to account for any radical difference.

*Some Methods  
of the Denver  
Juvenile Court.*

I can possibly illustrate what I mean by a very recent case in the juvenile court, representing, as it does, the method of the court and the application of the Colorado law in hundreds of other cases. First, just a word to explain better the method pursued. We have a special day devoted to children's cases—every other Saturday. At nine o'clock, the court opens and there are probably assembled in the court room two hundred and fifty boys. They are all probationers who have been tried from two weeks to two years before; there are no rules governing the time of probation. It depends on the particular case. Probably one hundred have gone through the rain baths in the basement of the court house. Three hundred copies, current numbers of *The American Boy*, *Men of To-morrow* and *Success* have been distributed. No juvenile court boy who is "square" will take these things and read dime novels. I spend fifteen minutes in talking to these boys, generally taking as a title for the discourse some subject that immediately gains the boy's heart and attention. For instance, "snitching" means to "peach" or to "tell," a term known to every boy from the wealthiest families to the poorest, and the best to the worst. Some splendid lessons may be instilled under this title—the difference between a tattle-tale, the sissy boy, the goody boy,



a manly boy, a real boy, accessory before and after the fact in the commission of crime, guilty knowledge, with a few stories woven in—lessons which gain a tremendous hold upon a boy and leave him with many lessons which I find have positive good effect. For instance, within a month after the Saturday morning talk on “snitching,” the boys in the juvenile court brought in more men for unlawfully selling liquor and tobacco to minors, than were brought into the court by the police department for the twenty years during which such laws have been upon the statute books. It was all done by being “square” and without the slightest semblance of detective work. No boy with knowledge of the sale by a saloon-keeper of liquor to another boy wanted to be an accessory to the crime. He knew that the rule against “snitching” was founded, among other things, upon the very praiseworthy desire to keep each other out of trouble, a “gang instinct” common to all organizations. How is a boy going to keep others out of trouble if some one else insists, by breaking the laws, upon getting them into trouble? It was learned in the talk on “snitching,” that Johnny Jones would not have stolen the wheel and been sent to the reform school, if Smith, a saloon man, had not violated the law in selling him liquor, thus assisting in teaching him to drink and starting one bad habit that led to others. And when Tommy knows that Johnny is going to steal a wheel, and does the “square thing” by telling him not to, and that an observance of the rule against “snitching,” if he persists, will defeat the very purpose of the rule itself by getting him into trouble, Tommy is very likely, after he has been “square,” to “snitch.” He can then do this without any qualms of compunction of conscience, or any fear under such circumstances that any juvenile court boy would ever call him a “dirty little snitch,” or want to “mash his face;” penalties for the violation of the laws that control a boy’s world more rigidly than the laws that control ours.

Talks on “jiggering,” “ditching,” “shagging,” etc., furnish topics equally as prolific for the court of boyville. No names are called in court. The boys come up as their names occur in order of the

alphabet under the call of A, B, C, etc. Their reports are read—reports furnished by their teachers. A workingboy reports in the evening when generally nothing but his presence and his own report of conduct is required. In many cases his employers help and assist the boy because he is reporting; in other cases the effect is questionable, and is not required. It is sort of a little club meeting, where there is talk, cheer and encouragement. We have a football team, a baseball team, and are planning three boys’ clubs. Each boy is praised, encouraged and stiffened, and there will not be five really unsatisfactory reports out of 200. These five must come to see me at a special time.

*A Case  
of Sniping.*

The case already referred to, will now be detailed as partially showing how our school for the suppression of juvenile crime is conducted. A special detective of the dry-goods stores has detected two boys in stealing agate marbles. During a busy session of a civil court, I receive a note to know if I can see some boys at the noon recess. It has only been a few hours since the boys were taken in delinquency. Assent is given. Now these boys are permitted to return to school and home. Their address and school are first made sure. It is easily discovered that instead of two, there was, as is usually the case, a large number, and at twelve o’clock I find five boys in my chambers with the probation officer and the special detective who discovered the young culprits. We meet together. Now, then, here are five “men of to-morrow.” Some of them would never be thieves even had they escaped this experience without correction. It is absolutely certain that some of them would add to the prisons at a later age but for this experience. I have spent the hours of the forenoon in trying an important will case involving many thousands of dollars. That case may consume a couple of days. Isn’t the case of these five boys of infinitely more importance to more single individuals, as well as the state, than the one involving what dead men have left behind? We have here involved not only dollars and cents, but, what is of infinitely more importance, human souls, physical bodies and destiny.

I know many a boy whose entire trial, and all the time ever given to the case in court or out, has not exceeded ten minutes. A half an hour is a liberal allowance. There is little use in trying to remove a constitutional trouble by a light application of salve. We must know if the trouble is constitutional. If it is not the salve may do. An obnoxious growth is never eliminated until the root comes up with the branch.

There has been detection and we here take the first step in the process of correction. Whether these boys steal marbles or bicycles is not the important thing. The question is why they stole and how to prevent its recurrence? The property, its character or value is of only incidental consideration. The first thing then is to get acquainted with the subject as the skilled surgeon would his patient. To know before you operate. This can be done very easily with the average boy so far as it is necessary to make a beginning. One thing to be kept in mind is in knowing your boy, finding him out, learning his symptoms, his habits, etc.

*Get  
the Truth.*

Above all things get the truth. Never let a boy get away from you with a successful lie in his soul. You have lost the battle if you do. I have had several street boys tell me after a struggle to get the truth, how "game" I was to win out. Most of them are conquered right there. Some officers, teachers, and others will tell you most boys in delinquency lie. I could tell you the same thing in a way. As a rule it is not the boy's fault and I do not consider him a liar. Often parents cannot admit it is possible for the boy to be guilty of the offense. They are too willing to encourage his denials. There is pride to be mortified if he is guilty. The preservation of the pride from mortification is too often more important than the preservation of the boy's morals and the sensible view is not taken. Again, there has not been companionship sufficient, or little confidences have been neglected so that frankness and candor that always yield the truth are likely to be absent or if present it may be in dread of meeting a "licking" instead of sym-

pathy, love and the right kind of correction. The best boys may get into trouble or court. It does not follow that they are not good because they do. As princely little fellows as I ever knew have been necessarily brought in for admitted delinquencies of a serious character. They only needed to be made to understand, to think, to get a lesson often as to where fun ends and the law begins. Of course, the home should do this but sometimes it is absolutely necessary that it be done outside the home and the home of some boys involved may not be at fault at all, yet, generally some other boy's home is. Boys must play and congregate together and the good influence of a home may succumb to the bad influence of some other home; or abundant energy or exuberance in any boy may possibly explode in some violation of the law which for its dangerous example of influence cannot be passed unnoticed. It is a good thing we have the mild juvenile court and not the brutal criminal court upon such occasions. But to get the truth go at a boy right, allay his fears and the discords in his soul, make him see it is to his interest to tell the truth, for he is entitled to be made to see all this if we are fair. If we do this, he is the most truthful creature in the world. Is not this rather the true and fair test? Is not self-preservation the first law of nature? Make it to his interest to tell the truth. If he is to get a "licking" or expulsion from school for telling the truth, and if he is a natural creature, he is mighty likely to lie. We need patience and intelligence in dealing with such delicate matters.

*Don't Violate  
a Boy's  
Laws.*

Avoid if possible anything that would compel him to add to his offense by violating any of his own laws in a way that would be shocking to a boy's conscience or that would subject him to outlawry in the boy world. Let it be agreed after full discussion, that everybody can "snitch" upon everybody else without being called a "dirty little snitch" or getting his "face mashed;" that it is necessary to help the whole crowd out of trouble and keep them out; that it is the proper thing to tell the truth be-



cause it is not only right but it is the proper thing and the best thing. In this way the equilibrium, as it were, is preserved and there is complete harmony from our standpoint and from that of the boy, a perfect understanding not only between the court and the individual boy, but every other boy involved.

It is not difficult to find that the "swiping" habit began at a much earlier period than the time of detection; that the limit was not reached in marbles but has in some cases extended to bicycles; that it would be a good thing for some other boys besides these caught to come in and "snitch" on themselves in order to keep out of trouble and keep other kids out of trouble. The result is that everybody comes in and everybody "snitches" and everybody feels it is the right and proper thing and the one time when the truth is both necessary and justifiable; so that our two boys originally detected grow into every boy in that school or neighborhood who has engaged in any serious swiping or other offenses. One little fellow of ten, out of these five, who had held another boy up in the alley and robbed him of three dollars, has read dime novels since he was seven and is particularly interested in Jesse James, about whom he knows more than he does about George Washington. His mother has had knowledge of his course of reading. She must be brought in for contributing to the delinquency of the child. I believe this cannot be done under the law of any other state except Colorado. I never saw or heard of a law like ours before in this particular. The mothers of two boys drink beer and send them to the saloon. One of the boys has already acquired a liking for liquor. He is the boy who led the raid on the bottled goods wagon and stole the beer for the balance of the gang, none of whom were over thirteen. This mother is brought in. I have known boys who did this very thing to wind up in "tapping tills." The drug store man upon the corner has, notwithstanding the rigid enforcement in Denver of the law against selling tobacco to minors, persistently sold a number of boys cigarettes. He must be brought in. One boy lives near the railroad tracks and habitually wanders in the yards. He

has already barely escaped serious accident, committed one theft of a brass appliance on a freight car which he sold to the "rag Sheeney" for fifty cents. So the rag man and the mother who permitted the boy to go on the railroad tracks, which of itself made him a delinquent, are brought in.

*How the Case  
Grows from  
2 to 22.*

Thus this case grows from two boys originally arrested to sixteen boys who are "in it," several parents and a number of citizens who are likewise "in it." From two to twenty-two is quite a jump. The boys were brought in formally on juvenile court day, found delinquent, and sentence suspended on condition that they report every two weeks with a note from their teacher detailing school attendance, conduct, and standing. The cases against parents and others are taken up another day.

A year ago the detection of four boys "swiping" things from back porches—which was begun in fun and love of adventure, and fast becoming acute, to the alarm and complaints of citizens in the neighborhood—grew into forty. Yet not a policeman or officer of the law in this particular case was ever concerned. Every one of these boys are friends of and co-workers with the court, respecting the law, mutually and solemnly pledged that if any one of the crowd should be disposed to repeat the offense it is the duty of the others to warn him against it, and, if he persists, it is their duty to "snitch." Now, if everybody agreed to this sincerely and honestly, could anybody who was square ever complain that each meant what he said? Of course, these neighborhoods have never been troubled with further depredations; neither, in all probability will any of the boys involved ever give occasion for further complaint. They have had their lesson. Some of them needed it; some did not. But who knows who did and who didn't? To bring in one or two, and not all, would be the most dangerous kind of discrimination. No one has a keener sense of justice or partiality than a boy.

There is not a day in the week that I do not thus hear informally some boy's case at the close of a busy session

of a busy civil court. To-day, at five o'clock, as I came from the bench, there were eight boys waiting to see me, sent me from school, belonging to the same neighborhood, who had been in a series of those escapades inaugurated by school roughs and led by one of two school toughs which eventually result in criminality in at least a too large per cent of those involved. It is seldom that I can leave my chambers before 6.30 in the evening, and there is hardly an evening that I am not required to return. Yet there is to me such a joy and fascination in work of this kind and the wonderful results which seem to follow in the great majority of cases, that instead of the ordinary fatigue that would follow such effort, it is rather the reverse.

*What the  
Boys Have Done  
to Help.*

It is a rather interesting thing, especially in cases of a certain class of foreigners who do not seem to understand their duties to their children or the state, to fine them for contributing to the delinquency of their children, letting them be truant, run on the railroad tracks, or habitually steal, to give them a certain time in which to pay the fine, and then become interested, as I do, in the boy and make a deal with him to bring me good reports constantly, with the assurance that he may succeed in getting his parents out of the trouble he thinks he has got them into. If the reports are good the fine is suspended.

Many a little fellow in this court is perfectly certain that my future as judge depends upon his own little efforts, for haven't the policemen and the school attendance officer and even his own parents in many cases declared he was hopeless, and haven't I stood by him and told him not to let them make me out a liar or subject me to the scathing criticism of the police for being "easy with the kids," and doesn't the success of the court depend upon them? They have responsibilities that they are not going to shirk, especially when a friend is at stake. I know that once in a while we feel we are disappointed, but where there is one such case there are actually, from the records, twenty the other way; and I am sure we could fill a volume of experiences in indi-

vidual cases, many of them remarkably interesting and almost surpassing belief, in which I count as the chief factor in success this personal touch, personal work and effort, and yet withal a firmness that commands respect and does not repel.

One night I went to the jail with four boys who claimed to have been abused by the jailer while incarcerated. One of them had unluckily run into a sign to which shoes were attached as it hung in front of a little clothing store in a locality where small tradesmen congregate and many poor people live. It was suspected that they had designs on the shoes. One of the boys was poorly shod and the snow and ice did not add to his comfort. It was certain from investigation that no theft was intended, yet a release was not effected for eight days. We investigated that case until after midnight. I shall not determine whether the boys were beaten as claimed or not. It was denied by the officer, but the examination and testimony of two eminent surgeons to whom I took them seemed to confirm the boys. Whatever may have been the fact, it was to my mind a good illustration of the right way and the wrong way to deal with boys under such circumstances. Misunderstandings of boy nature are not confined to policemen. There are even parents, school-teachers, and others who have the same unfortunate habit. It has led to more criminality in child life than most any other one cause. I have known some excellent, big-hearted men on the police force who do understand boys, who are sympathetic and intelligent in their dealing with them. These boys, confined as they were in a room alone in the jail, soon got into mischief. If boys under such circumstances are not engaged in some good thing, they are almost certain to be engaged in some depredation, in some evil thing. A window was broken. The boys claimed they were cursed, vilified, and knocked down. They denied, of course, that they broke the window. The real culprit was the first to lie. None of the others were going to either admit the mischief or point to the guilty one. Of course, I knew these boys, and away out of the presence of the officer they very promptly told me who broke the window and why



they all lied about it. I do not think there was a boy among the four who had not told me all the things he had ever stolen and every vile thing he had ever done. They knew that to a certain extent I sympathized with them, that I understood the case from their standpoint.

Yet they knew I did not justify them. There is a difference between sympathy and the right kind of justification. No sympathy should ever be of the character that affects either weakness or becomes maudlin. It has been well said somewhere that "love without justice is sentimentality." Yet there is no justice without love. I believe it a dangerous thing to ever let a boy think you justify him in any unlawful or improper act. If you justify him it must be where the law permits you to do so.

Certain merchants in a certain locality complained bitterly of certain street boys shooting craps and swearing viciously and obscenely, in a way that was extremely annoying. Of course, it is well nigh impossible to stop street boys from such pastimes as crap-shooting. If some other amusement for the outlet of exuberance and a certain form of energy and instinct, were provided, it might be done. Still, many of the disgusting features may be eliminated and the evil to a certain extent checked. One of the leaders among the boys learned of the complaints. He had been in the juvenile court. He came to me with a proposition that he would get the kids together and I could come and give them a talk, and he was sure if I wanted them to stop that kind of thing they would do it. He was equally sure that the "cops" never would stop it. It was just a question of the right way to get at the boys. As this boy expressed it to me, "You see, Judge, its this way, if dem cops tink der goin' to stop it, they musn't come behint us." The boy was right. His method was to come "straight in front of us." A boy is mighty likely to run from the "cop." I believe a talk and mixing I had with these boys one night at the newspaper offices will do more to stop it than the police department. The Anti-Crap Shooters' Union seems to be "a go." I have been assured they are anxious to please me, and when

the boys undertake to enforce the law in the street, it will be obeyed.

*The Fight  
Against the Jail,  
and How  
Mickey Helped.*

In the fight against the jail last winter I had no more ardent supporters than the street boys who had been its worst victims. They were always at my beck and call to testify before the governor and the mayor, the police board, or others, and whatever may have been said to the contrary, I do not believe they lied or exaggerated. In any event, the fight against the jail was won and the "detention home" has taken its place. It only applies to children under fourteen. This rather disturbed one of my allies, a street boy known as "Mickey." He came to me one day looking rather disconsolate. He had been employed by the "millionaire tramp" to appear on the street at a certain time when the "tramp" was dispensing pennies out of a hatful to small boys to gather a crowd. To further this plan it was proposed to create additional excitement by having Mickey grab the hat from the "tramp" at the proper time, when he was to be "shagged" by the policeman and arrested. It seems, as Mickey expressed it to me, "de cop wasn't on to his job," and did not carry out his part of the program. Mickey performed his to the letter. He came to me for advice as to what to do with the pennies. I assured him he was not responsible for neglect on the part of the police department under such circumstances. On being threatened with arrest, he investigated the law for which he had aided me so manfully, in the way of collecting evidence, in getting through the legislature.

"Judge," said he, "didn't I help you get this law through?"

"Yes," I replied, "Charley, you rendered noble service."

"Well," says Charley, "where does I come in? Didn't I tell you some time back dat I was fifteen?"

"Yes, Charley, you did."

"Well, say Judge, can you forget dat, I am tirteen from now on. I have been pinched so much when I haven't done nothing I aint goin' to take no more chances; if dis 'ere legislatur' can keep kids out of jail under fourteen dey can set me back two years."



Charley is the boy who assured me "that he never told de trut' to de cop, because it wouldn't do a ting but git you inter trouble." He likewise assured me that he had always told me the truth because he had never been able to keep out of trouble until he had "run against me." The most serious objection that Charley had to a certain slanderous article about him in the newspaper was not the libel involved, but because, as he expressed it to me, "theys done gone and put it on the sporting page where all me frens from Cheyenne to Albuquerque would read it before night." Charley had feelings and respect for his friends. The trouble was he had some wrong kind of friends and a pride that was played upon by the wrong kind of influences. He has different friends now whom he is just as anxious to please, and a pride and a conscience that responds as nobly to different influences and different ambitions, yet the wellspring of it all is precisely the same. The direction of it is a little different. The same energy that used to get him and others into trouble and into jail is now keeping both himself and others out of either.

*Four Boy  
Burglars and the  
Policeman.*

Four boys came to my chamber late one night, as they expressed it, to "snitch up" (to tell on themselves). They had never been in court, never been detected. They came to me through the influence of a boy who had been in court and whom I had befriended. This boy would never "snitch." I would not ask him to. Yet he learned the lessons of the juvenile court. He had induced these boys without my knowledge or suspicion, to come here and "snitch up." They assured me that they were convinced it would not be long before the cops would get them and they had decided to reform. This happened two years ago. Every one of those four boys are promising fellows to-day.

I remember well after taking a record of thirteen burglaries or thefts, including a number of bicycles, curiosity directed me to the police department to see just how many of their confessions would tally with the complaints there. I found every bicycle stolen listed at headquarters. The officer in charge did not at first care

to enter into my plan of getting at these boys because it did not involve the recovery of any of the property. I knew this was hopeless. I was met, however, with a rather stern and determined argument that citizens who had lost their property in this way would insist on having it returned. I even stood in the way of being convinced that I was about to compound a felony. It did not take me long, however, to convince the officer—a well-meaning man—that those four boys and their redemption and recovery was more important to the state of Colorado than that of a few bicycles and small trinkets—even to the unfortunate citizens.

Last year we secured over two hundred positions for boys who were brought to the juvenile court. Over half of the boys thus helped gave satisfaction. Over one hundred and fifty were sent to the sugar beet fields to work during the past summer in charge of probation officers, and over three-fourths of them did well. Several hundred dollars was spent last winter for the relief of needy and deserving cases. Such help is not limited to boys in the juvenile court, but is open to every boy. Truancy and idleness are the chief breeders of juvenile offenses—aside possibly from the faults of parents—and every effort to keep boys in school or properly engaged at some good thing should be encouraged. Such efforts tend to prevent delinquency. The purpose of the juvenile court is, of course, to prevent crime.

*The Crime  
of the State  
and What it Cost.*

I was once importuned to send two boys to the reformatory, both of whom had a record at the police station. They had never been to the juvenile court before. They had been to all the other courts time and again. I spent hours in the criminal courts and jails figuring up the expense of the convictions and incarcerations and care of these boys since they were ten and eleven years of age. One of these boys assured me his case was not given three minutes when he was first sent to the reformatory. In one case the state of Colorado and the county had expended over one thousand dollars and in the other over eight hundred dollars in actual cash, not including

at all the estimated salaries of officers, for such convictions and incarcerations in the blind attempt of the state to accomplish their reformation. I knew the police department would laugh at me if I let those boys out of jail and they did not return, as they assured me would be the case, if, as they expressed it, I "patted them on the back and let them go." Of course, I never did such a foolish thing in the case of any boy. After spending twenty-six solid hours in personal work with these two boys on Sundays and evenings behind the bars, they were allowed to go. They met faithfully every engagement I made with them. Of course, I had difficulty getting them to keep employment, but I also had patience, and to-day one of them, after eighteen months, is absolutely redeemed, as steady a workman as any average boy. Neither have returned to their evil ways. I have hopes for the other, though I am not as sure of success. From the police standpoint, the experiment has more than succeeded. They have neither been in jail or pursued by the police in this time. Before, this was constantly the case. I have had the help and sympathy of the police department in this experiment, though they regarded it suspiciously at first.

*What is  
Necessary.*

What is chiefly necessary in such work is intelligent, tactful, skilful, patient officers to enforce the law, men and women who understand children and who love their work for the sake of the good they can accomplish. They should know how to do this. They should know how to proceed with wisdom and intelligence. I never committed a boy to the reformatory that I did not let him know that it was intended for his own good and with the hope that it might make him what we failed to make him at home after every reasonable trial.

I correspond with many of these boys personally, and I find after three years that such correspondence is extending all over the United States.

Out of 1,500 children brought before this court in three years we have never had a single parent except to any disposition of such cases. We have only be-

gun. We have now a juvenile program mapped out with reference to child study and juvenile offenses, and methods of improvement which will take three or four years of earnest hard work to complete.

*The Expense.*

The criminal court method of handling juvenile offenders used to cost our county an average of \$42 for each case handled in court, expenses, etc. It now costs about \$10. The criminal court convicted and sentenced nearly all for crime, and sentenced seventy-five per cent to jails or reformatories. The juvenile court convicts no child for crime, and is compelled to send only about five per cent of probationers to the Industrial School. It sends none to jail, and the Detention House has abolished the jail for children. We spent about \$50,000 last year (not including, of course, the expense of the police department), for salaries and other similar expenses for officers to convict criminals. We spent practically nothing to save children, and the juvenile court, being already a civil court with officers provided, did not cost the county one cent additional. We now, however, recently have been given three probation officers at a cost of about \$4,000 in salaries per year.

It is also gratifying to know that the governor of the state, in his last message to the assembly, called attention to the saving to Colorado in this court alone by the different method here employed in dealing with children, of over \$80,000 in cash. In addition to this, it may be fairly urged that the saving to the school boards in postponing the necessity for a parental school three years ago, provided for by the legislature, will save equally as much. One hundred and fifty thousand dollars is no small item, but considering the far-reaching effects and influences of one wayward boy, and the awful expense which every state is under in punishing criminals, it demonstrates beyond any other incident, in my own experience at least, in our own jurisdiction, that it really is wiser and less expensive to save children than to punish criminals.



# The History of the Juvenile Court Movement in Pennsylvania<sup>1</sup>

Hannah Kent Schoff

President National Congress of Mothers

Chairman Juvenile Court Committee, New Century Club, Philadelphia

The establishment of the juvenile court and probation system in Pennsylvania had its inception in the case of one little girl, whose arrest, trial and sentence, brought out the horrors of court procedure concerning children in Pennsylvania. The whole subject stood out in all its iniquity, and in all its terrible consequences to the children, and as no one seemed to realize it, or to be doing anything to alter it, I was irresistibly impelled to make it my business to stop the spiritual slaughter of the innocents which had been going on for years.

One morning in May, 1899, the Philadelphia papers gave an account of the arrest and imprisonment of a little girl for setting fire to a house. Her picture was published, and with startling headlines she was heralded to the world as a "Prodigy of Crime." Motherless since she was two years old, an inmate of an orphanage, and then a drudge in a city boarding-house, with no companionship except that of ignorant servants, there had been little opportunity for moral responsibility or development.

Friendless, arrested, imprisoned, tried in the criminal court, and sentenced to the House of Refuge, and only eight years old!

When asked why she started the fire she frankly said, "To see the fire burn and the engines run."

Branded as a criminal, sentenced to the companionship of girls guilty of crimes of far greater menace to her character, what hope did the future hold for her? The injustice of that poor child's treatment led me to the determination to rescue her if possible, and to do for her what I would wish some one to do for my own little girl were she in a similar position, as she might have been if she had been motherless and friendless at such a tender age. An interview with the judge,

and an appeal to be permitted to place the child in a good home that I had secured for her, resulted in his granting the request, and now after five years she is as sweet, attractive and good a child as can be found anywhere.

When I remonstrated with the judge for sending such a child to a reformatory, he said he had no choice in the matter, for there was no other place to send her, and they did not want her even there, because of the character of the offense. Investigation into the methods of procedure with children only intensified a sense of the injustice and wrong that was being committed in the name of justice.

Pennsylvania has two houses of refuge, one in the eastern part of the state, and one in the western. The latter is a state institution, while the former is a private institution receiving from city and state a per capita appropriation for children committed there. In addition to this, the state has a reformatory at Huntingdon for boys over sixteen years of age. A law prohibited the retention of children in almshouses for more than two months, but the state provided nothing else for these helpless citizens who often, through no fault of their own, were left to the state for care, protection and training. Private charities stepped in, and in many cases did good work in saving the children. For over twenty years, the Children's Aid Society has done an excellent work in placing children in family homes, but it has been hampered by lack of funds, and it has branches in only part of the cities, so that hundreds of cases needing special care and attention never come within its influence. Other societies did helpful work, but, nevertheless, inadequate in the face of such a situation.

*The Situation  
in Pennsylvania  
in 1900.*

There were five hundred children ranging from six to sixteen years in the Philadelphia County prison in 1900. There were from two to three hundred children every month passing through

<sup>1</sup> This paper is in substance a report made by Mrs. Schoff to Dr. S. J. Barrows of the International Prison Commission.



the station-houses of the city, standing in critical need of intelligent direction and guidance, yet receiving nothing. There were children in every county prison throughout Pennsylvania, committed for trifling offenses, and subjected to influences that could not fail to confirm evil habits. There were over eight hundred children in each reformatory, and no distinction was made as to the children committed there. Waifs, homeless little ones, children accused of serious crimes were indiscriminately sent to the same institution. It was made *easy* to send them there. The state put a premium on parental irresponsibility, and welcomed all who wished to receive education and support at the expense of the state.

Any magistrate could commit a child to a reformatory on the parent's statement of incorrigibility, and no effort seems to have been made to *prove* the parent's statement. *The child's side of the case was never heard.* The result was that stepfathers and stepmothers, desiring to be freed from care of children, took this method of throwing on the state the duty that belonged to them, and more than half the children in the House of Refuge were there because of complaints of parents, usually stepfather, or stepmother. The stigma of a reformatory was thus put unjustly on hundreds of children, and the state was subjected to an expense that was totally unwarranted. It was to the advantage of the institutions to receive small children, because these could show larger percentage of reform. The cottage system was used, yet with fifty or sixty children in each house, and thirty sleeping in one room, there could be little of family life. The houses of refuge provided excellent educational opportunities, industrially as well as academically. They provided good food, physical training and fresh air in abundance, but the association of hundreds of boys committed for every kind of crime, massed together indiscriminately, except for size and age, made them places where, even with the moral stimulus provided by those in charge, the inevitable result to all was a familiarity with crime of every sort.

A sifting process was needed. No sensible mother, as a means of uplifting her boy, would condemn him to the exclusive

association of bad boys, because he had committed a fault, yet this was the method the state pursued in dealing with its childish offenders. The reformatory, which should always be a *last* resort, never to be used until all other methods have proved futile, was in Pennsylvania the *only* place to send children, except the prisons, and some of the best judges sent children to *prison*, because they were isolated there, instead of being associated with other offenders. Their trial was in the criminal court, and in the cages for criminals, the boys and girls awaited their turn, listening to things too vile to mention, and receiving lessons in evil never to be forgotten. Crowded lists to be gotten through. No one to give the busy judge any information that would help him to decide wisely as to the case. Such were the conditions in Pennsylvania in 1900. Erring children standing at the bar of justice with their eternal future hanging in the balance! Children with infinite possibilities for good or for evil, victims of environment, neglect or bad homes; yet each one a child of the God, who said "It is not the will of your Father in Heaven that one of these little ones should perish." Society ignored them. The churches, giving millions to missions, yet blind, unconscious of the need at their very door! No mother thought for those little ones! Only the cold legal procedure of the criminal court!

*The Safeguard-  
ing by the  
State.*

In the light of true values, no cases coming into the courts equal in importance to the community and the state these children's cases. The treatment given at this time decides the future of that immortal soul. It decides whether he shall become a good citizen or a criminal. Is it not worthy the deepest thought, the wisest consideration?

Should not the state safeguard the interest of its helpless citizens, and provide adequately and wisely for their development, physically, morally, and intellectually? The latter duty has been met by our public school system, but the other duties have never received the attention they deserve. The only effective way to check crime is at its source, and that is at the very first downward step in child-

hood. Wise treatment at this time will save the child, but *unwise* treatment or *neglect* will develop all the bad qualities, and the result will be a criminal, against whom society must protect itself, and for whose support it will be largely taxed.

A subject of such far-reaching import to the individual concerned and to the community, should receive the consideration of which it is worthy in legislative measures and in the careful administration of a state system which protects and fosters childhood. Such a system can never be devised or administered unless intelligent women give to the subject the same thought and care that wise loving mothers give to the rearing of their children. Unfortunate childhood must suffer, unless women recognize that a larger motherhood is required of them than to care only for their own children. Until they give to every subject affecting childhood the mother thought and care, we shall see the same old system which has marred thousands of lives, and made criminals of children who might just as easily have been made into good citizens.

Such were the conditions in Pennsylvania in 1899, when, with an inward vow to work unceasingly until something better than this could be devised for unfortunate children, the movement was planned which has resulted in the establishment of the juvenile court and probation system in Pennsylvania and which has influenced its establishment in many other places.

The first step toward this was a personal investigation of what other states were doing for children. In October, 1899, the New Century Club of Philadelphia invited me to form a committee of the club, and pursue my investigations there. The club is composed of six hundred women, its influence is valuable in many directions, and the invitation was accepted, on condition that the work should not end with the investigation, but that we should have the endorsement of the club in building up a suitable system of child care in Pennsylvania. The committee was carefully selected and a study of the laws concerning dependent, defective, and delinquent children in every state was planned. The Bar Association of Philadelphia generously offered the com-

mittee the use of its library for this study. Members of the committee worked there during the winter, indexing the statutes of each state. By March we had compiled "the statutes in every state in the United States concerning defective, dependent, and delinquent children,"<sup>1</sup> and had become even more strongly convinced of the necessity for such study, because comparatively few states had given real thought to protecting the interests of childhood. "*Convict children*" was the title of statutes in some states. The states which stood out in bold relief in child care were Massachusetts and Michigan, while Illinois had just introduced its juvenile court and probation system. During the summer of 1900 I visited Massachusetts, Michigan and Illinois, studying the work done there, and meeting the leaders of the work in those states. Our investigation led us to the conclusion that Illinois, in its juvenile court and probation system, had introduced the most valuable and effective method of dealing with unfortunate children, and that it was the first thing to be desired in every state. An interview with the governor of Pennsylvania and with some of the political leaders won their hearty support for the movement. When the committee met in October, 1900, a lawyer was employed to draft bills for the legislature, being instructed as to the points to be covered, and asked to make them conform to the constitutional requirements of Pennsylvania. Two bills were drafted similar to the Illinois laws. These bills required separate time and place for trial of children's cases; prohibited detention of children in police stations or prisons; provided probation officers whose salaries were not to be paid from the public treasury, yet who were appointed by the judge; provided a house of detention in cities of the first and second class for children awaiting trial, and provided boards of visitors, composed of men and women, for all children's institutions.

The judges had given no attention to the subject, and the enactment of the laws

<sup>1</sup>Through the generosity of the New Century Club and of two of its members this compilation of statutes was published and widely distributed to those making similar investigations. It has been brought up-to-date in 1901, and is for sale at the club.



in May, 1901, was a surprise and a shock to those who felt old ways were good enough.

*The First Pennsylvania Juvenile Court.* The first session of the juvenile court in Pennsylvania was held in Philadelphia, June 14, 1901. We had a suitable woman to recommend as probation officer, and members of the club guaranteed her salary. The Pennsylvania Congress of Mothers supplied an officer also, so that the court opened with two probation officers, and with a judge who, though unacquainted with the procedure desired, was sympathetic, and glad to carry out the wishes of those who had worked for months to bring about the new system.

The success of the system would depend principally on the character of the probation work that was provided, and to bring that up to the highest standard, and to raise the money to pay the salaries of the officers, was the duty that devolved upon the committee. Not only that, but to see every judge in Philadelphia, to write to every judge in Pennsylvania, to communicate with every woman's organization in Pennsylvania, and to educate public opinion to use the new laws as they should be used was the next step in the campaign for childhood. To give unity and permanence to the work, it was thought best to have the probation officers recommended and paid by a central body, and the New Century Club voted to make the committee "a permanent central committee to solicit and receive funds from the public for the support of probation officers." This placed the work under auspices which would insure permanent and intelligent direction and the membership of the committee was increased by adding a representative from each organization contributing to the support of an officer.

The city of Philadelphia was districted and efforts were begun to provide a sufficient number of officers to give individual care and attention to every case. Meanwhile, two faithful officers covered the city as well as they could. The next question was how to raise the money for the salaries, and at the same time secure contributions from sources that would be permanently interested to continue them.

There are eight hundred churches in Philadelphia, all interested in mission work, and as no more practical home missionary work exists than to save the children, we began to seek their assistance.

A Jewish rabbi was asked to have the Jews support a Jewish officer who could speak Yiddish, for as the Jewish cases form twenty per cent of the total number it was very necessary to have their co-operation. The response was prompt; a young woman was provided, and assisted by a committee of intelligent Jewish women excellent work has been done. Next, the ministers of the Presbyterian churches permitted me to explain the new work to them at their ministers' meeting, and, as a result of that, I was invited to speak of it at prayer meetings and special meetings arranged in different churches. One Presbyterian church agreed to support an officer, others raised money toward the work. Individuals offered the whole salary in some cases, and a mothers' club contributed the salary of an officer, a settlement provided one, and thus before parlor meetings, clubs, churches and ministers' associations of all denominations, the subject was presented with such success that now ten officers give their entire time. The city is districted and each officer is responsible for her district.

Great care was used in selecting the probation officers. Women of tact, judgment and common sense, women who are fitted to understand child nature, and who give their lives for love of the child, rather than love of the salary, were chosen, and were asked to study and read books that would help them to the most intelligent work.

This was done in Philadelphia, and the Pennsylvania Congress of Mothers assumed the task of arousing the intelligent co-operation of women throughout the state. Speakers were sent out to different counties, much explanatory literature was distributed, and personal visits were made to Pittsburg, Harrisburg, Easton, and other cities; addresses were given before clubs, and visits made to judges. As a result the work started in Pittsburg on the same plan used in Philadelphia.



The hostility shown to the new system by those who had not grasped its possibilities caused a suit against the constitutionality of the laws, but pending the hearing of the case before the Superior Court, the juvenile court and probation work went on as well as it could with the rotation of fifteen judges, many of whom had no appreciation of the new methods of procedure. Even with these drawbacks, the results were such as to arrest attention, and the opposition never discouraged the women who were waging this battle for the children.

The laws of 1901 were declared unconstitutional for technical reasons in February, 1903, but long before that we had secured the best legal talent, and had five new bills drawn covering the defects of the previous laws. These were presented to the legislature in January, 1903, and encountered opposition from the same sources that had fought the previous measures. It was a battle every step of the way, for the appeal was carried to the governor and he was asked to veto the bills. But we had results to show of what the new system had already accomplished, and had common sense on our side, and we won. In May, 1903, the juvenile court and probation system again became the law of Pennsylvania. There are peculiarities in the constitution of Pennsylvania which have proved difficulties in one way, but gradually we are overcoming these, and are steadily gaining in the efficiency of administering the system.

The Juvenile Acts of 1903:

Provide separate time and place for trial of cases of children under sixteen, without indictment.

Provide probation officers to be appointed by the court—salaries not paid by public treasury.

Prohibit confinement of children under sixteen in police stations or prisons.

Prohibit commitment of children under twelve to reform schools unless after probation care it is deemed necessary.

Prohibit magistrates from committing children to reformatories and vests that power in the juvenile court.

Provide for the appointment of boards of visitors for institutions, societies and

organizations caring for dependent, neglected and delinquent children.

Prohibit any institutions receiving dependent children to receive delinquent children, and *vice versa*.

In Philadelphia, it was provided that one magistrate should hear all children's cases, and should hold them when necessary for the juvenile court.

The juvenile court is not a criminal court, but the judge sits as chancellor. Under the law of Pennsylvania it is still possible to try a child in criminal court by jury, if the district attorney deems it best, but as a matter of fact children under sixteen are rarely tried in the criminal court.

The preliminary hearing of the child before a central magistrate is attended by a probation officer who is a woman. At this hearing, the custom is to release the child on its parent's bail to appear at the juvenile court. No child is detained in the detention house, unless it is unsuitable that he should remain in his own home until trial. The magistrate's hearings occur twice each day, and the probation officers are notified to investigate the cases that come up. The court itself sits once a week. No judge sits more than a month at a time, and this has been a drawback to the work in Philadelphia, preventing uniformity of administration, or the conversance with the cases that a longer period would give.

Each probation officer makes thorough investigation into the causes that have led to the child's misdeed, and a comprehensive statement of conditions and previous history is given to the judge when the case is heard. The officer is always asked to testify in each case. Whenever the home is not criminal, the child is returned to the home under the care of the probation officer. This is always the first choice. If the home is absolutely unsuitable, the second choice is to provide the child a home in a family rather than an institution. The reform school and the institution are the last resort, only to be used when other methods have proved unavailing.

The probation work in Philadelphia is on a standard set by leaders in the National Congress of Mothers' whose spe-

cialty has been the study of childhood. They recognize that trained service is needed greatly for those who must deal with the eternal future of an immortal being, and that untold harm has been done by unwise methods. As the trained nurse can more successfully cope with disease than can the untrained nurse, so in moral disease, the trained worker is most needed. Child study, psychology, as related to the characteristics and development of various stages of childhood, a study of penology and sociology, and such legal training as is required for the presentation of cases, combined with common sense, and a consecrated love for the children are requisites for good probation work. The entire time of the officer, and individual care and thought for each child are essential to satisfactory probation work. An officer, therefore, must not have too many cases under her care. Our officers are women. Dealing as they do with the child and the mother, they come, we hold, into closer relations than can a man, for child care is ever woman's work, the mother work which the world needs.

All recommendations for appointment of probation-officers come through the New Century Club Committee on Juvenile Court and Probation Officers. In this way we control the quality of the service. The political leaders and the judges state they could not have secured such probation work if it had been of political appointment and this is certainly true. There is no head probation officer. Each is responsible for her district and reports directly to the court. We meet with them, however, and all difficult cases receive careful consideration.

Philadelphia is about to purchase a house for the children awaiting trial. There will be separate rooms for the children. A resident probation officer, and the magistrate's hearing in the house of detention, daily, will be features. No child will be detained when it is possible to let him give bail to appear at court. A woman of refinement is in charge of the children detained, and attends the magistrate's hearing, so that now in Philadelphia, a woman's thought and judgment is exercised in the case of every unfortunate boy or girl who is brought into the court—

an influence of inestimable value in the disposition of the cases.

Examination of children's mental and physical condition by expert physicians has resulted in the placing of many children in feeble-minded schools and special schools for treatment.

*No Criminal  
Class of  
Children.*

An experience of thousands of children has proved conclusively that there is no criminal class of children.

A child's environment, lack of home care and neglect may lead him into crime, but in each we find the germ of good, and to quicken and develop it is our work. Punishment does not accomplish this. Education, help, love and patient stimulation of the better instincts can alone develop that germ. We do not consider the crime. We consider the child, and we have saved those whom even the reform schools feared to take, considering them prodigies of crime. We also encourage parental responsibility, and provide help and instruction for ignorant, careless parents.

OFFICIAL REPORT FROM COURT RECORDS.

*June 14, 1901, to November 1, 1902.*

Total number of cases of children. ....	1,793
Delinquents.....	1,112
Dependent.....	681
Returned home on probation.....	1,008
Back twice .....	24
Back three times.....	3
Sent to House of Refuge. . . . .	104
Total number of cases from October 1, 1903, to January 30, 1904.....	645
Visits made by probation officers.....	4,700
Sent to House of Refuge.....	62
Dependents.....	31
Delinquents.....	614
Under probation care.....	267
Returned to court a second time.....	22

Total number of cases in detention house,

February, 1903, to February, 1904..1,327 boys

The National Congress of Mothers recommends and is trying to establish courses of training for probation officers and other workers with children in connection with the colleges. Such a course should have, besides the theoretical training, practical work in connection with the court, and by putting it on a professional basis, it would bring to it those who would do more intelligent work. Such trained intelligent service is also needed in penal institutions of all kinds. It is God's own work to



uplift the weak and the fallen, and in this probation care the more nearly it resembles His love and His patience for His children, the more nearly will it approach the standard it should attain. How can we expect great changes in a few months or a year, with those who have had every disadvantage, when slowly and with many

back sliding, "we build the ladder by which we rise from the lowly earth to the vaulted skies, and we mount its summit round by round." Love for the child, patience, insight, and comprehension of child nature and its needs, applied to the life of each child will revolutionize the world.

## The Child of the Large City<sup>1</sup>

SOME GENERAL HUMAN PROPOSITIONS RELATING TO CHILD CRIME AND PARENTAL NEGLECT DRAWN FROM THE WORK OF THE CHILDREN'S COURT OF THE BOROUGH OF MANHATTAN AND THE BRONX, NEW YORK CITY.

Julius M. Mayer

Justice of the Court of Special Sessions

The first year of the Children's Court for the Boroughs of Manhattan and the Bronx (the old city of New York), ended on September 2, 1903. During that time there were arraigned, in round numbers, 7,400 children under the age of sixteen years. An accurate statistical report is now being prepared in which will be set forth with much particularity the various data as to nature of offence, convictions, discharges, commitments, paroles, suspension after parole, etc. What we are all most interested in, however, are the general human propositions relating to this subject of child crime and parental neglect in the city of New York.

The children who have been arraigned may be broadly classified as

- (1) Mischievous children.
- (2) Children who commit crimes because of temptation.
- (3) Children who commit crimes because of environment and bad associations.
- (4) Children who commit crimes because of parental neglect or incompetency.
- (5) Children with what may be called criminal tendencies.
- (6) Children who are runaways and vagrants.
- (7) Disorderly and ungovernable children.
- (8) Children who are neglected or abused by their parents.

(1) *Mischievous Children*.—Very many children are arraigned because they engage in playing shinney, football, baseball,

and other innocent games on public thoroughfares or build bon-fires on the asphalted or other pavements. These acts are, of course, innocent in themselves but are prohibited in the interest of the safety of life, limb, or property in our crowded streets. In many of these cases the judges find that the children do not know why these acts are prohibited. The child, of course, must play and until the playgrounds of the city catch up with the needs of the child population, children must necessarily use the streets and play those games or their variations which have been known to all children for all time. A fine or commitment to a reformatory is rarely imposed in such cases, but the judge presiding takes great pains to point out why the game, innocent in itself, must not be played in the streets, and the parent is also instructed, with the result that very few boys offend twice in this particular. Under this general head, however, falls a class of street nuisance both prevalent and dangerous. The stone battle between boys who are members of various street gangs or crowds is a reminder almost of mediæval times. Not long since some of the "Seventy-fifth streeters" and the "Seventy-sixth streeters" were arrested. With perfect frankness and utterly unconscious either of the humor of the situation or of its seriousness, the leader of the "Seventy-sixth streeters," a boy about twelve years old, said to the court that the "Seventy-fifth streets had stolen the election." It appeared that the "Seventy-sixth streeters"

<sup>1</sup> Reprinted from CHARITIES, November 7, 1903.



had saved up considerable wood and other material for bon-fires on election night and all this material had been captured and secreted by the "Seventy-fifth streeters." Whereupon, according to the exact account of the leader of the "Seventy-sixth streeters," the "Seventy-sixth streeters declared war." The war consisted of a stone battle in which about one hundred or two hundred boys engaged. It is safe to say that not one in ten of these boys realized that the stone battle involved any danger to others than themselves. Hence the additional difficulty of determining what to do in such cases. On the one hand, the citizen upon the thoroughfare and the real estate owner must be protected; and, on the other hand, a fine ordinarily means a very serious drain upon a respectable parent and a short commitment of ten, twenty, or thirty days to a reformatory means a loss to the child of employment if he be working or a serious interruption to his school course if he be a schoolboy. Usually such boys are placed on parole, with the exception that when an epidemic of stone battles breaks out in a neighborhood, a fine or brief commitment is imposed upon the ring leaders as an example and a deterrent.

Upon several occasions, when addressing school-teachers and others interested in school work, I have earnestly suggested that it would be most desirable if some time in every week could be spent in explaining to the children the reasons why these acts must not be committed. Most boys when asked why they should not throw stones or do other mischievous acts which are dangerous answer, "Because I will be arrested," but are unable to answer the next question, "Why will you be arrested?" This class of mischief will be reduced to a minimum by the adequate increase of playgrounds where children may have decent amusement which occupies their time and attention. Even in the absence of adequate playgrounds, much can be done by school-teachers and parents teaching simple lessons in practical civics.

(2) *Children Who Commit Crimes Because of Temptation.*—The crime committed under this head is most usually theft. It is with children as with adults.

The opportunity presents itself at the time when the child for some reason or other is weakest. For instance, in one case a messenger boy was one Saturday morning entrusted by a merchant with three dollars with which to send a cable. The boy had for some time been anxious to see a certain play at the theatre. The boy, when questioned, told how the thought came to him that the chance was ripe to gratify his desire and how two or three times he resisted the temptation and finally succumbed, so that he disappeared with the money and went to the theatre. The boy was the son of a respectable poor widow who was employed as a cleaner in an office building, and the boy up to that time had faithfully given his earnings to his mother.

Another very interesting case was that of a boy who was the son of well-to-do people. He was a great student and reader and his parents had from time to time purchased for him books aggregating upward of three hundred volumes. The boy was very anxious to get a certain book relating to travel, and while in a department store making some other purchases he noticed that this particular book was displayed for sale. He had spent all of his money that day which his parents had allowed him. The boy was highly conscious of his wrongdoing and he told how he had walked away two or three times from the counter where the book was displayed and had conquered himself; finally, as he put it, "the devil must have been in me because I had to go back again and the last time I took the book." Many instances of one kind or another might be given of boys of good tendencies and moral surroundings who have yielded to temptation just at a time when they seemed least able to resist. Such boys are placed on parole and the system of parole when applied in these cases has resulted in a high average of success.

(3) *Children Who Commit Crime Because of Environment and Bad Associations.*—Without attempting to consider long mooted questions of heredity and environment and the like, it is safe to say that, in the life of New York city, bad environment is a powerful factor as an influence in child life. "Fagin" is a

reality on the lower East Side of the city. Case after case has come before the court in which it has appeared that children have been taught to steal by older boys and young men, who use these children as their tools and who profit from their crime. The picking of pockets and the snatching of purses, chatelaines and other articles in which women carry money and valuable is sadly prevalent. The skill of these child pickpockets is little less than marvelous. They usually work in threes. One boy opens the purse, or chatelaine, and grabs the money. He passes it to another boy who disappears as fast as he can, and the third boy throughout the transaction, by one expedient or another, diverts the attention of the person whose pocket is being picked or whose property is being taken.

In a large percentage of these cases the parents are respectable, hard-working people; in many, the children have good school records; but the difficulty is that these children have no money to spend so that their desire to have what other children have—candy, soda water, neckties, children's fobs and the like—cannot be gratified. Thus the "Fagin" finds an easy subject when he points out to the child that it will get a certain percentage of the proceeds of any theft which it successfully accomplishes.

These "Fagins" control the children to some extent, also, through a sense of fear. They threaten bodily harm, and between the temptations of gain and the feeling of fear, the children come completely under their control.

Not long since a boy gave a complete exhibition of how to pick a pocket, or steal a purse, or snatch a chatelaine, and the same boy told how, when a boy was arrested, there was always somebody ready to go bail and to look out for him. This boy was nine years old, and some conception of his knowledge may be gained by the language he used. He said that in a certain street there was "a band of grafters." He described what was meant by "the stall" (the third boy who engages the attention of the citizen while the others are picking his pockets), and showed a knowledge of methods which was extraordinary. The children who belong to this class are most largely children

of the more recent immigrants, and while the parents are in most cases decent and hard working, their struggle for existence is so hard that they do not seem to be able to give their children that attention which more fortunate parents, in less congested neighborhoods, can give. The life of the children is in the main on the street, and it is there that they form these dangerous associations. In some cases a parole has been tried and where the parents have moved to other neighborhoods, the parole has usually been successful. On the other hand, where the same treatment has been tried in a case where the parents have remained in the same neighborhood, the parole has frequently been unsuccessful, and the children have come back to court a second time charged with the same character of offense, and have necessarily been committed to a reformatory.

Under this same classification, too, are to be found children who are the victims of the lower class of junk dealers. The legal difficulties of bringing home the crime of stolen goods have been peculiarly great in the case of junk dealers. For a long time, many of these junk dealers in New York have induced, sanctioned, or encouraged children to steal lead pipe, iron, copper wire, and similar articles of junk which can be melted and the identification thereof destroyed. Last year the Penal Code was amended upon the suggestion of this court,<sup>1</sup> by providing that the purchase by a junk dealer of any goods, wares or merchandise from a child under sixteen, constitutes a misdemeanor. This law went into effect on September 1, 1903, and in the first case before the Court of Special Sessions the defendant was fined, with the warning that, in the next case, a convicted junk dealer would be imprisoned. A second case followed, and the junk dealer was sentenced to imprisonment. It is hoped that this class of crime will be as effectually stamped out as has been the pledging of goods by children with pawnbrokers. A provision of the law, similar in purpose, has been most effective in the case of pawnbrokers, so that now it is extremely rare for one to take a pledge from a child. Already, in the matter of the junk dealer, there is a

<sup>1</sup> See CHARITIES, February 14, 1903.



marked diminution in the theft of junk by children.

For the class of crime referred to under this head, there can be no specific remedy suggested. It will continue so long as the population in certain parts of a city is congested, and the opportunities for close association with older and criminal boys and youths made easy. As the work of the settlements and the various other educational and philanthropic activities progresses, and as more children are drawn thereby to attractive surroundings, we may hope for less of this kind of crime. But a great difficulty, as I have suggested, is the inability of the parent to give the necessary supervision to the child, as well as the failure of the parent who has lived, until middle life, under other conditions in other countries, to understand the peculiarities and the difficulties of life in a large American city.

(4) *Children Who Commit Crime Because of Parental Neglect or Incompetency.*—In this class of cases are to be included those children whose parents are intemperate, shiftless, or dishonest, and who become thieves, beggars, or vagrants because a bad example is constantly before them, and they really have no home. That a child under these circumstances goes astray is not to be wondered at, although frequently it is found that, where one of the parents is good, the child follows its example. There are, however, numbers of families where both parents are utterly unfit guardians. Parents of this kind are not new. Doubtless they are as old as civilization itself. In these cases the proper course is commitment to a reformatory; for parole or probation is rarely of any value where there is no proper home influence.

The difficult cases to deal with, however, are the cases of children whose parents are industrious and reputable, but who seem to have no conception at all of their duties toward their children. They fail to make a study of the child. They fail to understand him. Frequently the father, who could well afford to give his child recreation, or a little spending money, will hold his son by so tight a rein that the child is bound to break away. Other parents of this character take from their children every cent of their earn-

ings, allowing them only enough to pay their carfare, and sometimes not enough to buy a bowl of milk and crackers for their luncheon. I can very well understand how, in small towns and villages and country districts, children may not need spending money, but here in this cosmopolitan city, where children of all grades meet together in the schools and on the streets, it is but natural that the child without anything should desire some of the things that other children have. It may seem a little thing, but I firmly believe that many a child would be saved from this initial wrong step if the parent would make him a small allowance, even if that allowance were only two or three cents a week. In the cases where such a course is pursued, the child usually becomes a sort of little business man, husbanding his resources and willing to spend no more than his allowance; but where the child has nothing, it is not strange that he should fall into temptation. Only within the past few days, a boy stole from his employer, having found an outlet for the disposal of some small wares at about one quarter their cost price. It developed that he had been a good, hard working boy, and had given every cent of his wages to his parents, who, on their part, had allowed him nothing but his carfare, and yet the boy was bringing home each week \$4.50 earned by labor from eight or nine o'clock in the morning until six o'clock at night.

(5) *Children With What May be Called Criminal Tendencies.*—To some extent this class interlocks with the class referred to as children living in bad environment. I have not used the term "criminal tendencies" in any scientific sense. It is meant to refer to those children who repeat offenses, although every effort in the way of parole and the like has been tried and exhausted. The difficulty with these children is that it seems impossible to arouse in them any moral sense or appreciation of wrong. Their sole standard is not to "get caught." In this class of children are the pickpockets and the car thieves. The car thieves are the children who break into freight cars in the various freight yards throughout the city, and who steal fruits, preserves and the like for the purpose of eating them, and who steal other

articles to sell. Owing to their small size it is very difficult to detect the offenders. One band of such children was the pest of one of the railroad companies in New York, and it was disheartening to hear them tell how they broke into cars, and to hear them describe in detail the different kinds of cars, and what methods must be employed to get into each kind of car, and how they dug holes in certain parts of the freight yards in which to conceal the stolen goods, and then, at the opportune time, take the goods away. Ordinarily, children of this class seem not to be amenable to kindly influences. They must be checked quickly and strongly, and the discipline of the reformatory has thus far proved in many cases the only effective remedy. In some cases, they turn out well under this discipline. In other cases they do not. It is simply the same situation as with adults. A certain percentage come out of the discipline reformed and a certain percentage do not; but in any event, while the children are in the institutions, they are removed as a menace to themselves and to the community.

(6) *Children Who Are Runaways and Vagrants.*—It would seem as if in some children the spirit of the wanderer was born. Many of them who are vagrants and runaways are children of respectable parents. One boy who had run away several times, was arraigned for the first time in the Children's Court. I asked him whether he thought if the court gave him one chance he would be able to stay at home, and he very frankly said that he would not. The love of adventure is still strong in the human make-up and the free life without responsibility seems to appeal to this class of children. Many of them apparently prefer sleeping in hallways to the comforts of a decent home. With these children, the parole system is working fairly well, but if the boy shows an uncontrollable desire to run away he must, of course, be committed to an institution.

(7) *Disorderly and Ungovernable Children.*—"Disorderly" is a technical term by which is meant children who associate with evil companions and who cannot be controlled by their parents. The parent in cases of disorderly children is the com-

plainant. By "ungovernable" is meant a child who is habitually disobedient and who will not yield to parental direction. The number of these children in New York, will be appreciably reduced by virtue of an amendment passed at the last session of the legislature. In many cases, parents have brought children to court for the purpose of being relieved of their support, and have really brought false charges against their own children in order to have them committed to institutions. The court now has the power to require the parent to pay for the support of the child; and it is interesting to note how many parents conclude that their children are not so bad after all, when the court threatens to make a parent who can afford it pay for their support during commitment to an institution.

Under this head also the female children most largely appear. Comparatively few females under sixteen have been found guilty of any crime. Of the female children arraigned, many have been those who have been morally led astray and who are brought into the court by their parents. Sometimes it has been possible to save these girls by parole, more particularly where the parents have moved so that the girl is not thrown in with her old associations; but generally speaking the safer method is to commit.

(8) *Children Who Are Neglected or Abused by Their Parents.*—These are the children who have done no wrong, but are victims of parental abuse; who are found in dirty and filthy surroundings; or whose parents are sent to the workhouse or the penitentiary for drunkenness or assault; who are beaten by their parents or whose parents do not furnish them with proper food or clothing. They are, of course, in no sense criminal children but are unfortunates who thus become wards of the state. They are committed to the various institutions of their respective faiths and most of these institutions are either situated in the country or have country branches.

The satisfactory experience of the first year of the court is the substantial success of the system of parole or probation, whereby the child is allowed at large to work out its good behavior. Our experience is not sufficiently broad to en-



able us yet to determine whether it is wise to parole children under twelve years of age. The child under twelve does not seem to yield as readily to parole as an older child because it has not the intelligence; but just how well or how poorly the parole system works with children under twelve we cannot say until there has been further experience. There is one proposition, however, which is certain and is applicable to children of all ages, namely, that the influence of good parents and decent home surroundings is in general a prerequisite in a successful parole system. The necessity of reporting once a week; of attending school regularly and behaving well in the school, or of getting work and keeping at it (if the child be over fourteen); the kindly influence of various volunteer workers who take an interest in the children and

who have been helpful to the court; and the requirement of reporting back to the court upon a certain day until the court is satisfied that the child is headed in the right direction, are all useful forces which seem to bring about the permanent saving of the child.

The essential and underlying purpose of the establishment of this court was the saving and not the punishment or the restraint of the child; and wherever the child itself, the home surroundings, the nature of the offense and all the circumstances have warranted, the judges have always felt it their duty to give the child at least one chance and try it on parole. The results have been so encouraging that we can look forward with confidence to the years that are to come and feel that many children will have been saved by this system of treatment.

## Probation Work in Children's Courts'

Charles W. Heusler

Justice Juvenile Court, Baltimore City

Recalling the story, let us place ourselves in the London streets with Nicholas Nickleby. He is thinking of the impending marriage of Madeline Bray and the miser, Arthur Gripe. All the details of the odious wooing pass in review before him; the heartless mercenary sacrifice of youth and beauty to the palsied age of Gripe that the selfish father might live out a few remaining years in peace and comfort, provokes him into vain, but manly protest; and pacing the deserted streets he thinks, "how youth and beauty died, and ugly griping age lived tottering on—how crafty avarice grew rich, and manly, honest hearts were poor and sad—how few there were who tenanted the stately houses, and how many of those who lay in noisome pens and rose each day, or laid them down each night, and lived and died, without a home to shelter them or the energies of one single man directed to their aid . . . how *ignorance was punished and never taught*, how jail doors gaped and gallows loomed for thousands, urged toward them by circumstances darkly curtaining their very cradles' heads, and, but for which they

might have earned their honest bread and lived in peace, how many died in soul and *had no chance in life*, how much injustice, misery, and wrong there was, and how the world rolled on from year to year, alike careless, and indifferent, and no man seeking to remedy or redress it."

O, wondrous seer of the human heart, how true thy plaint! True in the fiction time of Nicholas, true, in part at least, in the living, breathing present. The intelligent charity of the land is at work, however, upon the evil. Ignorance must be taught and not punished; crime must be prevented and not repressed; homes must be re-created and not neglected,—and from these necessities and for their solution, there has come into practical life in many states of our country the "court for the children."—and with each new court there was filed the first practical protest by the states against the bad homes of their citizens under sixteen years of age. The statute law was set upon the books in many a strangely molded shape, and local needs were met in various provisions adapted for the requirements of the official heads of the tribunals, but in all the laws there rang

<sup>1</sup> Reprinted from CHARITIES, November 7, 1903.

out true and clear, the one provision—typifying the genius and the inspiration of the work—that there should be appointed for the use of these courts the co-operative aid of probation officers. Clearness and adaptability in the organic law is most desirable; proper appliances are needed as an adjunct in the practical working of the law, but the probation system is not only desirable, and is not only needed as an adjunct, but it is *absolutely impossible* to do the work without it, and without it the laws had better be repealed.

The work of the children's courts must be done in the children's homes. No temporary viceroy put upon the child by the most sympathetic judge, by reason of either counsel, suggestion, or threat, can be availing, if after the process the subject is sent back *alone*, and again into the same experiences because of which his trouble was occasioned. The work must be carried into the homes and the heart of the boy and of his people. Not the offense alone must pass under the observation of the court, but the temptation, the lack of opportunity, the bad examples, all the inducing causes of the offense must be discovered, and when discovered rooted out. The youth must be ruled with kindness and suggestion: be made to understand the meaning of home and law and necessary discipline. He should be told that he but a child to-day, he is the man of the coming morrow. His quickening intelligence, his hopes, his ambitions must be appealed to, and his response is almost certain.

The voice of pity and compassion must reach him in his home, and reach his parents also in his home. Down to the very depths of that home must it go—the probation system must recognize that in the moral as in the material world the rain and the sunshine of pity and compassion is for the roots of the plant as well as its flowers. Recall the interview of Rose Maylie and Nancy Sikes. "Oh," said the earnest girl folding her hands as the tears coursed down her face, "do not turn a deaf ear to the entreaties of one of your own sex; the first, the first I do believe who ever appealed to you in the voice of pity and compassion. Do hear my words and let me save you yet for better things." "Lady," cried the girl sinking on her

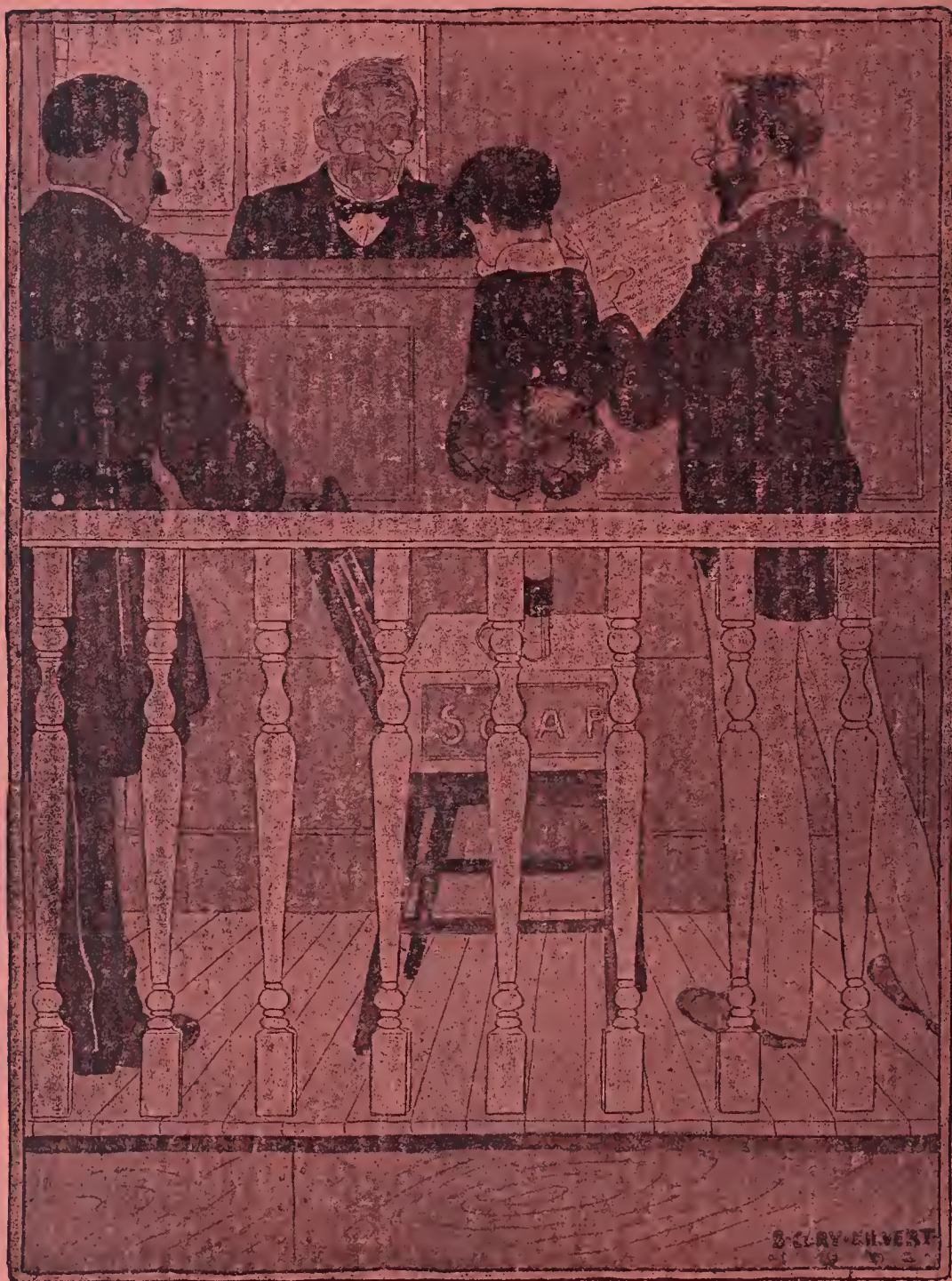
knees, "dear, sweet, angel lady, you *are* the first that ever blessed me with such words as these *and if I had heard them years ago*, they might have turned me from a life of sin and sorrow; but *it is too late—it is too late.*" And then this girl—this outcast of the streets, with "no certain roof but the coffin lid and no friend in sickness or death but the hospital nurse"—went out into the gloom and degradation of Spitalfield to her horrible death at the hands of the brutal housebreaker.

There is a double appeal to us all in the creation and the maintenance of the children's courts. They call for the display of all the boundless wealth of our aggregated and personal charity—and they appeal to the economic side of our financial nature. It is easier and cheaper to prevent crime than to punish it. Spacious and commodious reformatories and penal institutions should not be the subject of civic pride. It may never be possible to do without them—it is entirely possible to diminish the number of their inmates. The constructive work that reared them to the skies and made them architectural ornaments can be superseded by the constructive work of children's courts which will build up and fashion the weak and erring and usually neglected child into a well-developed, moral, Christian man. The work demands the earnest and sympathetic co-operation of all the people.

"I have a duty to discharge which I owe to society—and it shall be discharged at any cost," cries the hypocritical Pecksniff when he discharges poor Tom Pinch because Tom has learned and admitted how false and crafty, mean and cruel, Pecksniff is. "Oh, late-remembered, much-forgotten, mouthing-braggart duty, always owed and seldom paid in any other coin than punishment and wrath, when will mankind begin to know thee! When will men acknowledge thee in thy neglected cradle, and thy stunted youth, and not begin their recognition in thy sinful manhood and thy desolate old age. Oh, ermined judge whose duty to society *now* is to doom the ragged criminal to punishment and death, had'st thou never, man, a duty to discharge in barring up the hundred open gates that wooed him to the felon's dock—and throwing but ajar the portals to a decent life?"







**"FOR DISTURBING THE PUBLIC PEACE."**

"For Disturbing the Public Peace" is the work of B. Cory Kilvert, and the quaint satire of this picture of the old-time "grown-ups justice" will prove to those who are interested in the juvenile movement that the little folk are not without an artist friend at court. The picture is typical of several in a field which Mr. Kilvert is making his own. It is published here through the courtesy of the *Metropolitan Magazine*.

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